The elements of abbreviation in medieval Latin paleography

By ADRIANO CAPPELLI

Translated by David Heimann

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PREFACE

Take a foreign language, write it in an unfamiliar script, abbreviating every third word, and you have the compound puzzle that is the medieval Latin manuscript. For over two generations, paleographers have taken as their vade mecum in the decipherment of this abbreviated Latin the *Lexicon abbreviaturarum* compiled by Adriano Cappelli for the series "Manuali Hoepli" in 1899. The perennial value of this work undoubtedly lies in the alphabetic list of some 14,000 abbreviated forms that comprises the bulk of the work, but all too often the beginner slavishly looks up in this dictionary every abbreviation he encounters, when in nine cases out of ten he could ascertain the meaning by applying a few simple rules. That he does not do so is simply a matter of practical convenience, for the entries in the *Lexicon* are intelligible to all who read Latin, while the general principles of Latin abbreviation are less easily accessible for rapid consultation, at least for the American student. No doubt somewhere in his notes there is an outline of these rules derived from lectures or reading, but even if the notes are at hand they are apt to be sketchy; for reference he would rather rely on the lengthier accounts available in manuals of paleography, but more often than not he has only Cappelli's dictionary at his elbow. This

does indeed devote forty-six introductory pages to "Brachigrafia Medioevale," but because this essay is in Italian, our Latinist almost invariably will consult it only as a last resort after he has failed to find the form he seeks entered in the *Lexicon* proper. Obviously, he could be spared much effort if the *Lexicon* were available in an English edition, as once it was in German, but since only the introductory pages require translation, it seems more practicable to issue them separately as a supplement to the Italian edition currently in print, and its publisher, Dr. Ulrico Hoepli, has graciously consented.

The purpose of this booklet is simply to make Cappelli's prefatory treatise on the elements of Latin abbreviation available in English. It is intended as an aid to those who are learning to transcribe Latin manuscripts, and for this limited practical objective it should prove a satisfactory guide, as it provides the beginner with an extensive description in English of the common abbreviatory practices of medieval Latin scribes. No doubt Cappelli's classification of abbreviations was an imperfect system, overly rationalized, and as an historical statement of the development of Latin brachygraphy it is largely antiquated, but neither defect impairs its usefulness to one who wishes only to expand abbreviations correctly, since the principles remain true no matter when or where they originated and however they are presented.

The present work, then, is a translation, complete and unabridged, of Adriano Cappelli's essay "Brachigrafia Medioevale" as it appears on pages xi-lvi of his *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane usate nelle carte e codici specialmente del medio-evo . . .*

(3rd ed., Milan, 1929; lxxiii+531 pp.). The only innovation is a decimal system of section numbers, which has been added for convenient reference.

The *Lexicon* first appeared in 1899 as part of the series "Manuali Hoepli" and has since been revised four times, twice in Italian for the same series (1912, 1929) and twice in German for "J. J. Webers illustrierte Handbücher" (Leipzig, 1901, 1928). A longer version of the Latin title was used in 1899—*Lexicon abbreviaturarum quae in lapidibus, codicibus et chartis praesertim medii-aevi occurrunt*—but all subsequent editions have reduced it to two words, following the example of the German translator: *Lexicon abbreviaturarum: Wörterbuch lateinischer und italienischer Abkürzungen*. The first Italian edition contained 13,000 entries, and although 3000 more were added in the German translation of 1901, the next Italian edition was enlarged by only a thousand in 1912 to its present size of approximately 14,000 entries. Since 1929 no changes have been introduced into the Italian text, which continues to be reprinted by the Casa Editrice Libraria Ulrico Hoepli, Via U. Hoepli 5, Milano 20121.

A valuable supplement based on Vatican manuscripts is also available: August Pelzer, *Abréviations latines médiévales: Supplément au Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane de Adriano Cappelli* (Louvain-Paris, 1964; vii+86 pp.). Cappelli's French precursor has also reappeared in facsimile: L. A. Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abréviations latines et françaises usitées dans les inscriptions lapidaires et metalliques, les manuscrits et les chartes du Moyen âge*, 5th ed., Paris, 1884; reprinted by Olms (Hildesheim, 1965; lii+172 pp.).

The translators wish to thank James Helyar for the care with which he edited this volume, and especially for his help in restoring the penwork of the examples and for his calligraphy on the title page and cover.

David Heimann
Richard Kay

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 The medieval abbreviation system goes back to the ancient Roman system of sigla, which are isolated letters that represent an entire word. It is also derived in part from the system of Tironian notes, a sort of shorthand that in Roman times was employed primarily to record public speeches. Considerable elements of both the sigla system and that of Tironian notes survive in the widespread medieval abbreviation system that flourished, especially in Italy, from the 10th through the 15th centuries.[1] This is the system of medieval Latin abbreviation whose general rules and principles we shall now examine.

0.2 All medieval abbreviations, for both Latin and Italian words, can be divided into six categories, each of which will be treated in turn. Abbreviation can be indicated by:

1. Truncation,
2. Contraction,
3. Abbreviation marks significant in themselves,
4. Abbreviation marks significant in context,
5. Superscript letters,
6. Conventional signs.

1. ABBREVIATION BY TRUNCATION

1.1 A word is abbreviated by truncation when only the first part of the word is actually written out, while an abbreviation mark replaces the missing final letters. Two kinds of marks are employed: (a) general signs, which indicate simply that the word has been abbreviated without specifying whether it has been truncated or contracted; and (b) specific truncation signs, which always indicate that

some letters are lacking at the *end* of the word.

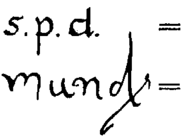
1.2 Both kinds of marks can have many forms; the following are the most common:

General signs: 

Truncation signs: 

1.3 The general signs can all be written above a word, either as a separate character or in ligature with the long-shafted letters. The last three, with closed loops, are used especially in papal bulls and royal charters.

1.4 The first truncation sign, a dot or period, is generally placed after the abbreviated word and is still in use today with the same meaning. Of the other signs, the first three are cross-strokes cut diagonally through the last letter of the abbreviated word, while the last three are tails that form a ligature with the final letter. Although the next to the last sign can be used to indicate simply the omission of any final letter(s), it is used especially to indicate the dropping of the ending *-is*. The third sign from the last is usually joined to the letter *d* to indicate the endings ***-dum*** and *-dam*, or the syllable *dis*. Some examples follow:



= salutem plurimam dicit

= mundio[2]

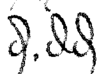
 dixi

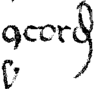
 = autem

 = denarii

 = factis

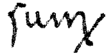
 = legitur

 = dicendum

 = concordantiis

 = secundum

 = *numerati*[3]

 = sumus

 = omnis

 = accipe

 = *pertiche*

1.5 Among the various abbreviations by truncation, the sigla are easily the most important. They are also the most difficult to interpret since they reproduce only the initial letter of the abbreviated word. Fortunately, it is generally

only the most frequently used words and phrases that are so abbreviated. A few general rules will facilitate interpretation.

1.51 It is generally the majuscule form of the initial letter that is used, followed by a period. This practice is observed in both inscriptions and written documents. In the latter, however, we find minuscule letters are also used, neither followed by a period nor separated by a space. For example:

fq = filius quondam	**nq** = nunc quondam
hq = honesta foemina	**rq** = relicta quondam.

1.511 Often, however, instead of a period such sigla are marked by a general sign of abbreviation that is placed above the siglum (§1.2-3).

1.52 Sigla which precede or follow proper names generally refer to position, title, or rank.

J.C. = Juris consultus	**C. C.** = Causidicus Collegiatus
D = Dux or Dominus	**N.E.R.** = Notarius Ecclesiae Romanae.

1.53 In medieval documents, and especially in juridical usage, isolated sigla can refer to a proper name that begins with the letter in question.

1.54 Not all medieval sigla are initial letters of the words they represent. We find, for example:

·n· = enim	g^{i}, g^{r} = igitur	$\bar{o}$ = non
$\bar{l}$ = vel	g^{o} = ergo	$\overline{cta}$ = supradicta
g^{a} = erga	**h** = nihil.	**go**, g^{o} = ergo.

1.55 Doubled sigla generally indicate the plural number or the superlative degree, or sometimes also a word in which

the letter in the abbreviation occurs two or more times.

FF. = Fratres	**LL** = libentissime
$\overline{\text{GG}}$ = Gregorius	**PP** = Papa
ll. = leges	**$\overline{\text{pp}}$** = propter.

1.56 Some sigla involve a tripled letter, especially in inscriptions, to indicate a group of three persons. AAA = Augusti tres, DDD = Domini tres, ggg = germani tres.

1.57 Sigla are occasionally written upside down, backwards, or sideways in inscriptions, when they refer to female names or titles: W or Σ = Mulier; Ⅎ = Filia, ⅃ = Liberta; ⊥ = Tita; Ɔ = Caia or Gaia. It must be pointed out, however, that the backward C (Ɔ) is frequently used for the syllables *con-* or *contra-*, as in: ƆL = Conlibertus; ƆS C = Contrascriptor; and Ɔ = Centurio.

1.58 In inscriptions, in order to distinguish sigla from numerals, a horizontal line is at times placed above the numerals, thus:

COS $\overline{\text{XIIII}}$ = *Consul decimus quartus*

1.581 Sometimes, however, the horizontal bar over the numeral letter is used to increase the value by a factor of 1000. Hence: $\overline{\text{L}}$ = quinquaginta milia; $\overline{\text{X}}$ = decem milia, etc.

1.582 Even in inscriptions, however, the horizontal bar often serves simply to indicate an abbreviation. Thus: $\overline{\text{XP}}$ = Christus; $\overline{\text{MIL}}$ = Militiae or Militum; $\overline{\text{EPV}}$ = Episcopus. These last examples cannot, strictly speaking, be called sigla, since, in addition to the initial letter, they also contain other letters of the abbreviated word.

1.6 The decline of the sigla system in the 8th and 9th centuries was marked by the appearance of less radical truncations which are much easier to interpret.

AUG.	= Augustus	$\overline{\mathrm{in}}$	= inde
$\overline{\mathrm{am}}$	= amen	$\overline{\mathrm{Ind}}$	= Indictione
$\overline{\mathrm{an}}$	= ante	$\overline{\mathrm{INC}}$	= Incipit
BO.ME.	= Bonae Memoriae	$\overline{\mathrm{Not}}$	= Notarius
$\overline{\mathrm{dat}}$	= datum, datae	$\overline{\mathrm{ob}}$	= obligatio
$\overline{\mathrm{dim}}$	= dimidium	$\overline{\mathrm{ren}}$	= renuntiando
$\overline{\mathrm{dom}}$	= domino	$\overline{\mathrm{sig}}$	= sigillo.

1.7 The system of abbreviation by truncation, however, simple as it is, was not the most popular system in the Middle Ages. In most cases, it was customary to further abbreviate truncated words by omitting one (or more) of the middle letters of the word. Thus $\overline{\mathrm{Kal}}$ = Kalendas is further abbreviated $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$. Similarly, $\overline{\mathrm{quat}}$ = quatenus becomes $\overline{\mathrm{qt}}$. Further examples:

$\overline{\mathrm{Dn}}$	= Domino	$\overline{\mathrm{NBL}}$	= nobilis
$\overline{\mathrm{dl}}$	= dilectissimi	$\overline{\mathrm{MN}}$	= minus
$\overline{\mathrm{dr}}$	= denarii	$\overline{\mathrm{ms}}$	= mense
$\overline{\mathrm{fl}}$	= filius	$\overline{\mathrm{Incp}}$	= Incipit
$\overline{\mathrm{hb}}$	= habet	$\overline{\mathrm{mt}}$	= monte
$\overline{\mathrm{ei}}$	= enim	$\overline{\mathrm{lb}}$	= *libbre*
carl	= chartula	$\overline{\mathrm{qn}}$	= quando
NB	= nobis	$\overline{\mathrm{qr}}$	= quare.

1.8 The conclusion of certain words abbreviated by truncation is indicated by special signs of abbreviation, or by small letters written above the line at the end of the word, or by writing the end of the word itself but in ab-

breviated form. The first two methods will be discussed below (§ 3 and 5); for the third group, the following list illustrates some of the most common abbreviations of word endings:

...b̄ = ...bis; **nob̄** = nobis, **urb̄** = urbis etc.
...c̄ = ...cum, ...cit; **gc̄** = graecum, **loc̄** = locum, **f̄ec** = fecit, **dic̄** = dicit etc.
...d̄ = ...dem, ...dam, ...dum; **eed̄** = eaedem, **q^{o}nd̄** = quondam, **h̄nd̄** = habendum etc.
...l̄, ...l' = ...lis, ...bilis; **ēpal'** = episcopalis, **9ūtil̄** = convertibilis etc.
...m̄ = ...men, ...mum; **crim̄** = crimen, **f'm̄** = firmum etc.
...n̄ = ...nim, ...num; **eten̄** = etenim, **don̄** = donum etc.
...t̄ = ...tum, ...ter; **act̄** = actum, **similit̄** = similiter etc.
...ū = ...vit, ...um; **c'aū** = creavit, **h̄ndū** = habendum etc.
...x̄ = ...xit; **int^{o}dūx** = introduxit, **ītellx̄** = intellexit.

2. ABBREVIATION BY CONTRACTION

2.1 A word is abbreviated by contraction when one or more of the middle letters are missing. Such an omission is indicated by one or the general signs of abbreviation (§1.2).

2.2 Such abbreviations, according to Paoli,[4] can be divided into pure and mixed. They are pure when they preserve the first and last letters of the contracted word, omitting all the middle letters. For example: o̅a̅ = omnia; p̅n̅s̅ = praesens; d̅n̅o̅ = domino; d̅i̅a̅ = dimidia; e̅p̅o̅ = episcopo; etc. They are called mixed if, in addition to the beginning and end of the word, they also preserve some of the middle letters. The result is actually two or more contractions in the same word.

pbr	= presbyter	olo	= omnino
mgro	= magistro	ops	= omnipotens
Kls	= Kalendas	rlm	= relativum
mla	= multa	scdm	= secundum
Mli	= Mediolani	prbrs	= presbyteris
pnia	= poenitentia	vlr	= universaliter.

2.3 Among the pure contractions note especially those which preserve only the initial and final letters of the contracted word.

ds	= Deus	ba	= beata
nr	= noster	dr	= dicitur
nm	= nostrum, numerum	fn	= forsan
oi	= omni	ht	= habet
mr	= mater, magister	ro	= ratio
ce	= causae	tc	= tunc
ci	= civi	nl	= nihil
mm	= matrimonium, meum	qm	= quoniam
ms	= minus, mens	sm	= secundum
pt	= potest	sr	= super
nc	= nunc	vr	= vester, videtur
os	= omnes	tn	= tamen
om	= omnem	tm	= tantum
io	= ideo	na	= natura
ss	= suis	pr	= pater.

2.4 Contractions can occur either in the declined or in the indeclinable parts of the abbreviated word.

effctm = effectum, snalr = sententialiter.

2.41 Most generally, however, the stem, or indeclinable part, of the word is truncated and one or more of the first letters of the word ending are also dropped, often leaving only the final letter. Word endings thus shortened are said to be headless or acephalous, in distinction to truncated endings (§1.8).

$\overline{\text{elm}}$ = elementum	$\overline{\text{rcs}}$ = rectus	$\overline{\text{sbi}}$ = subiecti.
$\overline{\text{fls}}$ = falsus	$\overline{\text{sbe}}$ = substantiae	

2.5 The following two tables list the most common contractions and truncations, first those involving the indeclinable stem of the word and next those affecting the word ending.

2.51 STEMS COMMONLY CONTRACTED OR TRUNCATED.

$\overline{\text{acc}}$... = accus..., accid...; $\overline{\text{accat}}$ = accusat, $\overline{\text{accioi}}$ = accusationi, $\overline{\text{accns}}$ = accidens, $\overline{\text{accnte}}$ = accidente etc.

$\overline{\text{al}}$... = anim...; $\overline{\text{aie}}$ = animae, $\overline{\text{aial}}$ = animal etc.

$\overline{\text{apl}}$... = apostol...; $\overline{\text{apls}}$ = apostolus, $\overline{\text{aplica}}$ = apostolica etc.

$\overline{\text{bn}}$... = bene..., bon...; $\overline{\text{bnfm}}$ = beneficium, $\overline{\text{bndnt}}$ = benedicunt. $\overline{\text{bna}}$ = bona, $\overline{\text{bnorum}}$ = bonorum etc.

$\overline{\text{cl}}$... = clausul...; $\overline{\text{clis}}$ = clausulis, $\overline{\text{clam}}$ = clausulam etc.

$\overline{\text{co}}$... = commun...; $\overline{\text{coem}}$ = communem, $\overline{\text{coicatoi}}$ = communicationi etc.

$\overline{\text{dn}}$... = domin...; $\overline{\text{dnice}}$ = dominice, $\overline{\text{dnacoi}}$ = dominacioni etc.

$\overline{\text{di}}$... = divisi...; $\overline{\text{dioi}}$ = divisioni, $\overline{\text{dis}}$ = divisus, $\overline{\text{diom}}$ = divisionem etc.

$\overline{\text{din}}$... = divin...; $\overline{\text{dina}}$ = divina, $\overline{\text{dini}}$ = divini, $\overline{\text{dio}}$ = divino etc.

$\overline{\text{dr}}$... oder $\overline{\text{drn}}$... = differen...; $\overline{\text{dra}}$ = differentia, $\overline{\text{drijs}}$ = differentiis, $\overline{\text{drntie}}$ = differentiae etc.

$\tilde{\text{dr}}$... = divers...; $\tilde{\text{drsa}}$ = diversa, $\tilde{\text{drsimode}}$ = diversimode etc.

ee... = esse...; **eetis** = essetis, **eelr** = essentialiter etc.
el... = elemen...; **ela** = elementa, **eltis** = elementis, **elm** = elementum etc.
ep... = episcop...; **epm** = episcopum, **eps** = episcopus etc.
epl... = epistol...; **epla** = epistola, **eplis** = epistolis etc.
exn... = existen...; **exns** = existens, **exnte** = existente etc.
fc... = fac...; **fca** = facta, **fcto** = facto[5] etc.
fl... = fals...; **flo** = falso, **flm** = falsum etc.
fr... = fratr..., frater; **fribus** = fratribus, **frs** = fratres, **frna** = fraterna, **frne** = fraternae etc.
gl... = glori...; **glam** = gloriam, **gloso** = glorioso etc.
gn... = gener...; **gne** = genere, **gnalis** = generalis etc.
h... = hab...; **heo** = habeo, **hitum** = habitum etc.
hn... = haben..., habun...; **hndi** = habendi, **hndas** = habundans etc.
hrd... = hered...; **hrds** = heredes, **hrditar°** = hereditario etc.
ic... = iamdict...; **icti** = iamdicti, **ictm** = iamdictum etc.
ist... = iamscript...; **isto** = iamscripto, **istis** = iamscriptis etc.
ln... = licen..., liben..., locumten...; **lnia** = licentia, **lnter** = libenter, **lns** = locumtenens.

lr... = litter...; **lra** = littera, **lre** = litterae etc.
mgr... = magistr...; **mgro** = magistro, **mgratum** = magistratum.
mi... = miseri..., misericordi...; **mia** = miseria, **miam** = misericordiam, **mir** = misericorditer etc.
ml... = mul...; **mla** = multa, **mlr** = mulier etc.
mr... = matr..., mater...; **mre** = matre, **mrm** = matrimonium, **mrona** = matrona, **mrna** = materna etc.

noi... = nomin...; **noia** = nomina, **noiat°** = nominatio etc.
nr... = nostr...; **nra** = nostra, **nrm** = nostrum etc.
obn... = obstan...; **obste** = obstante, **obntib** = obstantibus etc.
occo = occasio; **occoe** = occasione, **occoalr** = occasionaliter etc.
oi = omni...; **oia** = omnia, **oino** = omnino, **oim** = omnium etc.

omp... = omnipoten...; **omps** = omnipotens, **ompis** = omnipotentis etc.

on... = osten...; **ondo** = ostendo, **onsio** = ostensio etc.

pn... = praesen..., poeniten...; **pns** = praesens, **pna** = poenitentia.

pp... = praeposit...; **pps** = praepositus, **ppm** = praepositum etc.

ppl... = popul...; **ppli** = populi, **pplm** = populum, **pplris** = popularis etc.

pr... = patr..., pater...; **pria** = patria, **prs** = patris, **prnus** = paternus etc.

qn... = quando..., quan..., quon...; **qnq** = quandoque, **qnt** = quantum, **qnm** = quoniam etc.

qo = quaestio; **qom** = quaestionem, **qois** = quaestionis etc.

rc... = rec...; **rca** = recta, **rcm** = rectum, **rcep**° = receptio etc.

rl... = regul..., rela...; **rla** = regula, **rlibus** = regularibus, **rlte** = relative, **rlois** = relationis etc.

rn... = respon..., renun...; **rndit** = respondit, **rnsum** = responsum, **rens** = renuntians. **rntijs** = renuntiis etc.

ro... = ratio; **roe** = ratione, **role** = rationale etc.

sb... = substan..., subiect...; **sba** = substantia, **sbalis** = substantialis, **sbiue** = subiective etc.

sc... = sanct...; **scm** = sanctum, **scuarij** = sanctuarii, **scio** = sanctio etc.

scd... = secund...; **scdm** = secundum, **scds** = secundus etc.

scl... = saecul...; **scla** = saecula, **sclare** = saeculare etc.

sg... = signific...; **sgans** = significans, **sgabit** = significabit etc.

sil... = simul..., simil...; **silatoe** = simulatione, **sila** = similia, **silr** = similiter etc.

sl... = singul..., solut..., saecul...; **sloe** = solutione, **slo** = solutio, **slorum** = singulorum.

sn... = senten...; **sna** or **snia** = sententia, **snalr** = sententialiter, **slaris** = saecularis etc.

sp... = speci..., spirit; **spali** = speciali, **spalr** = specialiter,

spes = species, **spu** = spiritu, **spitale** = spirituale, **spual'** = spiritualis etc.

sr = super; **srbi** = superbi, **srfi**^{le} = superficiale, **sriri** = superiori etc.

tp... = temp...; **tpla** = templa, **tps** = tempus, **tpra** = tempora.

tr... = termin...; **tro** = termino, **trm** = terminum, **tros** = terminos etc.

vr... = vestr...; **vrm** = vestrum, **vra** = vestra etc.

xp...[6] = christ...; **xpi** = Christi, **xpofor**ꝰ = Christoforus etc.

2.52 Endings Commonly Contracted or Acephalous.

...a = ...ta, ...tia; **rca** = recta, **relca** = relicta, **mla** = multa, **dra** = differentia etc.

...bir = ...biliter; **delcabir** = delectabiliter etc.

...br = ...biter; **pbr** = presbyter etc.

...bs = ...bus; **testibs** = testibus, **hrdbs** = heredibus etc.

...co = ...cio, ...ctio; **ico** = inicio (initio), **bndco** = benedictio etc.

...dt = dunt; **c'dt** = credunt, **dnt** = dicunt etc.

...e = ...tiae, ...me; **sbe** = substantiae, **plie** = plurime etc.

...is = ...tis; **ompis** = omnipotentis etc.

...lr = ...liter, ...lariter; **talr** (or **tlr**) = taliter, **pplr** = populariter etc.

...lt = ...libet; **qmolt** = quomodolibet etc.

...m = ...nem, ...em, ...um; **orom** = orationem, **salm** = salutem, **frctm** = fructum etc.

...ns = ...ens; **accns** = accidens, **hns** = habens etc.

...o = ...to, ...tio; **fco** = facto, **rao** = ratio etc.

...oe = ...one[7] ; **dioe** = divisione, **dispoe** = dispositione, **colloe** = collatione etc.

...oi = ...oni; **diloi** = dilationi, **dioi** = divisioni etc.

...r = ...er, ...ter, ...tur, ...ur; **dnr** = dicuntur, **dr** = dicitur, **uidnr** (or **unr**) = videntur, **ppr** = propter etc.

...$\overline{\textbf{rt}}$ = ...runt; $\overline{\textbf{fert}}$ = ferunt, $\overline{\textbf{huert}}$ = habuerunt, $\overline{\textbf{ert}}$ = erunt.
...$\overline{\textbf{st}}$ = ...sunt; $\overline{\textbf{adst}}$ = adsunt, $\overline{\textbf{posst}}$ = possunt etc.
...**s** = ...us, ...es, ...is, ...tus, ...ens; $\overline{\textbf{fls}}$ = falsus, $\overline{\textbf{frs}}$ = fratres, $\overline{\textbf{prbrs}}$ = presbyteris, $\overline{\textbf{dis}}$ = divisus, $\overline{\textbf{rcs}}$ = rectus, $\overline{\textbf{dics}}$ = dicens, $\overline{\textbf{aspcs}}$ = aspectus etc.
...**t** = ...it, ...unt; $\overline{\textbf{incpt}}$ = incipit, 9$\overline{\textbf{tigt}}$ = contingunt, $\overline{\textbf{pett}}$ = petunt, $\overline{\textbf{volt}}$ = volunt etc.
...**to** = ...tio; $\overline{\textbf{tepto}}$ = temptatio, $\overline{\textbf{mto}}$ = mentio etc.
...$\overline{\textbf{tm}}$ = ...tum, $\overline{\textbf{ictm}}$ = iamdictum, $\overline{\textbf{frctm}}$ = fructum etc.

3. ABBREVIATION MARKS SIGNIFICANT IN THEMSELVES

3.0 These are abbreviation marks that indicate which elements of the abbreviated word are missing, no matter what letter the symbol is placed above or joined with as a ligature. There are seven types:

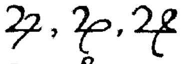
I.  = m, n

II.  = con, com, cum, cun

III.  = us, os, is, s

IV.  = r, re, ra, ar

V.  = ur, tur, er

VI.  = rum

VII.  = et, e.

3.1 The first sign is a straight or slightly curved line,

which we already know as a general abbreviation sign. It is frequently used to indicate the omission of the letters *m* or *n:*

cōd° = conditio, **cōmūe** = commune, **ī** = in.

3.11 This symbol was used throughout the Middle Ages, especially to indicate the omitted letter *m* in the endings *-am, -em, -um.*

aliā = aliam, **nobilē** = nobilem, **actū** = actum etc.

3.12 In the Visigothic script prior to the 9th century, a line with a dot over it (—̇) indicates the omission of the letter *m*, while a plain line (—) can indicate either a contraction or the letter *n*. But this distinction is not observed in later Visigothic hands, for from the 9th century on, the line is always dotted, even when used as a general mark of abbreviation.[8]

3.2 The second symbol, which bears a strong resemblance to the arabic numeral 9, and sometimes, especially in Gothic hands, to the inverted letter C, is one of the oldest abbreviation symbols. It is to be found in the examples collected by Valerius Probus[9] and in the Tironian notes, always with the meaning of *con* or *cum.* It was very popular in the Middle Ages, and many words beginning with this symbol have been collected in the *Lexicon* under the letter C. This is one of the few symbols that is invariably written on the same line as the other letters, never above or below. Frequently it stands alone, but is also used in conjunction with abbreviation signs or superscript letters.

9cedo = *con*cedo   9˜ = contra

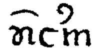
cir9	= cir*cum*	$\overset{\frown}{9}$	= condam (quondam)
9pleui	= *com*plevi	9^{a}	= contra
9gnitio	= *con*gnitio[10]	9^{9}	= conceptus
9ctis	= *cun*ctis	9^{aa}	= contraria
9tis	= *cun*ctis	9^{i}	= communi.

3.3 The third symbol can resemble the preceding one, but often it has instead the form of an outsize comma. Whatever the form, it almost always can be recognized by its distinctive position, since with only rare exceptions it is written *above* the line and at the *end* of a word. Generally it stands for the ending *-us;* but it can also be used for *-os, -is,* or simply *s.*

pri^{9}	= prius	**nob^{9}**	= nobis
su^{9}	= suus	**fi^{9}**	= filius
p^{9}	= post	**iu^{9}**	= ius
id^{9}	= idus	**n^{9}**	= nos.
$i^{9}t^{9}$	= iustus		

3.31 Wattenbach[11] lists as other meanings for the symbol 9 the combinations *et* and *ue*. E.g. q9 = que; man9 = manet; s9 = set (sed). There are, however, very few instances of this apart from the common sign s9 for set; this is probably to be explained as a corruption of the 7-mark (s7 = set; cf. §3.7).[12]

3.32 A sign very similar to the *-us* was occasionally placed above certain consonants to mark the omission of *er,* but never at the end of a word.

 = sincerum

 = revertitur.

But since this is not actually a symbol for *-us,* we shall treat it more fully in §4.31.

3.4 The fourth symbol, which consists simply of a wavy line, sometimes very pronounced, almost like the letter *u,* is written above a word to indicate the omission of the letter *r* or a syllable which contains an *r,* such as *re, ra, ar.*

corĩge = corrigere, **pet̃e** = petere.

3.41 In many cases, however, this wavy line is used to indicate the letter *a* or a syllable that ends with *a.*

nõ = nota

pũ = puta.

The symbol is, in this case, simply a transformation of the letter *a,* which about the 13th century came to be confused with the characteristic symbol for *r.* Down to the end of the 15th century, the two symbols are almost indistinguishable. Examples of this are to be found in the words: ĩ = ita, infra; **p̃p** = papa; **mõrlr** = mortaliter.

3.42 In manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, especially those written in Gothic script, this wavy line develops further into a broken horizontal bar, or two heavy dots closely spaced.

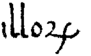
Nö = Nota, **q̈le** = quale, **sop̈** = sopra.

3.5 The fifth sign, resembling an arabic numeral 2 or an S lying on its side (∽), was extensively used in most medieval hands to indicate an omitted *ur* or *tur,* generally

at the end of a word and almost always written above the line. On rare occasions it can also stand for the syllable *er* or *ter*, but not at the end of a word.

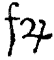
tenet^2	= tenetur	**g^{2}s**	= generis
dic^2	= dicitur	**ma^{2}s**	= materias
c^{2}rit	= currit	**cet^{2}o**	= caetero.

3.6 The sixth sign is somewhat similar to the fifth. It also resembles an arabic 2, but with an oblique line through the tail. Almost always on the line and at the end of the word, most commonly it is used to indicate the syllable *-rum*. Note that since the oblique line is also a sign of truncation, this sign can further stand for any final syllable that begins with an *r* (see §1.4).

 = **illorum**

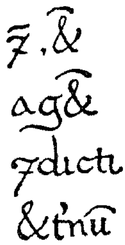
 = **coram**

 = **notarius**

 = **feria.**

3.7 The seventh sign, similar to the arabic numeral 7 and standing for *et* or *e*,[13] is used both independently as a conjunction and also in the composition of larger words. This is true also of the ampersand (&), a form which is popular even today.

3.71 With the addition of a horizontal bar above the character, either form stands for *etiam* or, when it occurs at the end of a word, *-ent*.



= etiam

= agent

= edicti

= aeternum.

3.72 In its 7-shape, this sign is sometimes used for the enclitic *-que;* e.g., **at7** = *atque.* Less frequently this stands for *-us,* especially after the letter *b* in the final syllable: **quib7** = quibus. Most likely this form is a corruption of the symbol 9, standing for *-us,* written, as it sometimes was, on the line rather than above. As a matter of fact, we also find the word *quibus* abbreviated **quib9.**

3.8 Many other peculiar signs were used during the Middle Ages to express the conjunction *et:* they are listed in the *Lexicon* together with the other conventional signs.

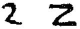
4. ABBREVIATION MARKS SIGNIFICANT IN CONTEXT

4.0 Among the abbreviation signs that indicate which elements are missing in the abbreviated word, there are some whose meaning is not set and constant but varies relative to the letter with which the sign stands. These signs are:

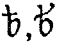
I. —

II. · : ; ʒ

III. 

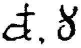
IV. 

4.1 Here again the first sign is a straight line. Its meaning depends on the context. As has already been said, it can be a mark of abbreviation in general (§1.3) or can signal the omission of *m* or *n* (§3.1). The same line assumes different meanings when it cuts across the shaft of the letters *d, h,* or *l,* and when it is written above the letters *p* and *q* or cuts across the tails of these letters.

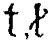
 = bre..., ber..., ...ub

 = cum, con, cen...

 = condam (quondam)

 = de..., der..., ...ud

 = haec, hoc, her...

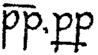
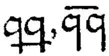
 = vel, ul..., ...el

 = men..., mun ..

 = non, nun...

 = obiit

 = per, par..., por...

	= prae, pre...[14]
	= propter, papa[15]
	= qui[16]
	= quae
	= quoque
	= quam
	= ter..., tem..., ten...
	= ven..., ver...

4.2 The period, the colon, the semicolon, and the mark like an arabic 3 are used almost always at the *end* of a word, and are written *on* rather than above the line.

4.21 When these signs follow the letter *b* (b. b: b; b3) they all can stand for *-us;* the last two can also stand for *-et.*

4.22 When they follow the letter *q,* they stand for *-ue* (forming the enclitic *-que*), although the 3-mark, and sometimes the semicolon, can stand alone for the enclitic *-que.*

4.23 The semicolon following the letter *s* is frequently found in 12th-century Lombard charters for *-is* at the end of a word (-s; = -sis).

4.24 In 14th-century hands the 3-mark stands for *est,* either independently as the copulative verb, or at the end of a word, such as: **prod3** = prodest; **īt'3** = interest.

4.25 A dot or period written above *h* stands for *hoc;* above *u* the point signifies *ut.*

4.26 These examples illustrate §4.21 ff.

quib;	= quibus	**usq;**	= usque[17]
omnib.	= omnibus	**m̄s;**	= mensis
quod;	= quodque	**ȓiss3**	= remissis
quilib:	= quilibet	**cas;**	= casis
qª93	= quacumque	**ḣ**	= hoc
hab3	= habet	**u̇**	= ut, uti
usq3	= usque	**au̇**	= aut.

4.27 In bookhands of the 8th and 9th centuries, the sign q; is generally augmented by a point (q;·) whenever it stands for *quae,* either independently or as a component of a larger word. This distinguishes it from the enclitic *-que* (q;).

q;·q; = quaeque, **q:·so** = quaeso[18]

4.28 The following contractions deserve special attention.

v3	= videlicet, valet	**p3**	= patet[19]
t3	= tenet	**l3**	= licet; but as suffix ...libet, **c⁹l3** = cuiuslibet
n3	= neque, nec		
d3	= debet		
h3	= habet		
in3	= inest	**s3**	= set (sed)
o3	= oportet	**93**	= cumque.
o3tuit	= oportuit		

4.281 When the 3-mark occurs at the end of a word and is preceded by the vowel *a*, *e*, or *u*, it generally does not stand for *-us* or *-et*, but rather for *m*. It is almost always written on the same line as the other letters in the word, for example: na3 = nam; ōe3 = omnem; h̄itu3 = habitum. In the Lombardic script, however, it is more frequently written above the line, not only at the end but in the middle of the word as well.[20]

4.282 The same sign following the vowel *o* is often used for the final syllable *-nem*, as in **opīo3** = opinionem.[21]

4.283 In a Roman charter of the year 1177,[22] we find the 3-mark with its tail cut by an oblique line, standing for the syllable *-rum*, as in:


= ypotecarum


= romanorum.

4.2831 In Lombard charters of the 11th century, the ending *-orum* is expressed thus:



4.29 Two periods positioned on either side of an isolated letter have the following meanings:

·e·	= est	·s·	= scilicet
·i·	= id est	·t·	= tunc
·n·	= enim	·9̄·	= condam (quondam)
·q·	= quasi	·7·	= etiam.

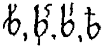
4.3 The third sign is simply an oblique line, frequently

hooked at one or both ends, cutting transversely across almost any letter of the alphabet, and assuming a variety of different meanings. Most of the time it indicates the omission of the syllables *er*, *ar*, or *re*.

4.31 This sign was often replaced by the other three signs illustrated at §4.0: a sort of backward question mark (ϛ); a slightly wavy line standing vertically above the letters (ʃ); and a 9-like sign similar to the one for *-us*.

4.32 We have already seen (§1.4) that an oblique line cutting across a siglum or the last letter of an abbreviation can be used simply to indicate truncation. To avoid confusion with this usage, the oblique line (or an alternate form) is not used with contextual significance at the end of a word.

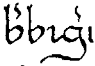
4.33 An alphabetical list of the applications subsumed under §4.3 may be helpful.

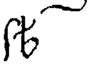
 = *bar…, ber…, bre…, bir…, …ub.* e.g.

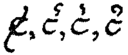
 = **Bartholomaeo**

 = **brevi**

 = **abire**

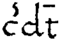
 = **barbigeri**

 = **sub.**

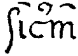
 = *car..., cer..., cre..., cir...* e.g.

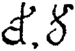
 = cercar

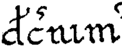
 = chartulae

 = credunt

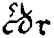
 = circulo

 = sincerum.

 = *der..., de..., di...* e.g.

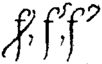
 = decernimus

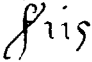
 = derelicto

 = creditur.

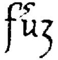
 = *esse.* e.g.

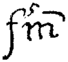
 = deessent.

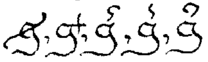
 = *fer..., fre... fir...* e.g.

 = feriis

 = frequenter

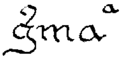
 = fervet

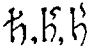
 = firmum.

 = *gar..., ger..., gre...* e.g.

 = congregare

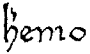
 = germen

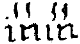
 = Germania.

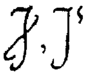
 = *her..., hab...* e.g.

 = habes

 = heredes

 = heremo (eremo).

 = in integrum.

 = *Jer..* e.g.

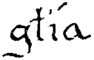
 = Jeremiae

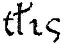
 = Jerarchiam.

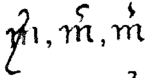
 = *ler..., ...ul, lor..., al...* — e.g.

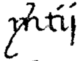
 = clericus

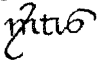
 = procul

 = gloria

 = talis.

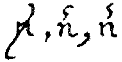
 = *mar..., mer..., mor...* e.g.

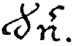
 = martii

 = mortis

 = mercurii

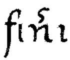
 = merito.

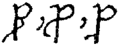
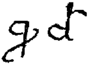
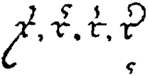
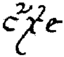
 = *nar..., ner..., nir...* e.g.

 = denariis

 = genere

 = venerabilis

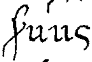
 = finiri.

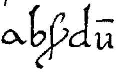
	= *pro.* e.g.
	= procul
	= prout.
	= *prae..., pri...* e.g.
	= praeparat
	= princeps
	= praesens praesentibus.
	= *quod* [23] e.g.
	= quoddam
	= quodammodo.
	= *rar..., rer..., re...* e.g.
	= rarius
	= quaerere
	= currere
	= regula

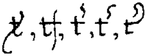
 = relevatur.

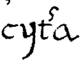
 = *sar..., ser..., sir..., sur...* e.g.

 = massarij

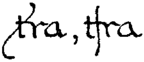
 = servus

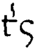
 = absurdum.

 = *tar..., ter..., tre..., tri* e.g.

 = cytara (cythara)

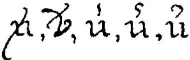
 = terminum

 = terra

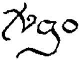
 = tres

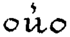
 = tribus

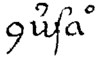
 = tituli

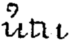
 = *ver..., vir...* e.g.

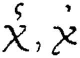
 = caveret

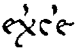
 = virgo

 = *overo* (*orvero*)

 = conversatio

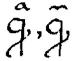
 = *virtù*.

 = *xer...* e.g.

 = exercere.

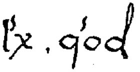
4.34 The same signs completely change their meaning when used to cut across a letter *q* over which a line or letter has been written.

 = quem  = quantum

 = quam  = quibus.

 = quid

4.35 Finally, in the 8th century, the s-form of this mark stands for *u*.

 = lux, quod etc.

4.4 The fourth sign is very similar to the arabic numeral 2 or the letter *z*. When it follows the letter *q*, the meaning is *quia*. Standing alone it frequently means *et* (saec. xv) or, if capped by a line, *etiam*. After the letters *u* or *a* at the end of a word, it indicates the omission of *m*. After the

letter *s* it stands for *et* or *ed*.

q2,qᶻ	=	quia	suz	=	sum
z̄	=	etiam	m̄iaz	=	misericordiam
z̄dio	=	etiamdio	sz	=	sed.

4.41 The sign most often used is certainly the first: q2 for *quia*. The meaning of *et* or *m* occurs mostly in Lombard hands and in incunabula.

5. ABBREVIATION BY SUPERSCRIPT LETTERS

5.1 At the *end* of a word, a superscript letter, whether a vowel or a consonant, can simply indicate the ending of the word, with a few exceptions which will be explained below (§5.6).

SUPERSCRIPT VOWELS

5.2 In other cases, a vowel written above a consonant generally stands for that vowel and the letter *r*, which can precede or follow it. Thus the vowels when superscript can stand for *ar*, *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, or for *ra*, *re*, *ri*, *ro*, *ru*.

m^{a}tis	=	martis	$f^{a}c^{ne}$	=	fractione
c^{e}tū	=	certum	g^{e}x	=	grex
c^{i}9st̄a^{as}	=	circumstantias	eg^{i}n̄ū	=	egritudinum
f^{o}tis	=	fortis	eg^{o}ni	=	egrotationi
fig^{v}at̄	=	figuratum	p^{v}de^{a}	=	prudentia.
ɔg^{u}a	=	congrua			

5.3 Note, however, these special uses of superscript vowels:

5.31 The vowels *a, i, o,* when written above a letter *g* that forms part of a word,[24] stand for the syllables *na, ni, no.*

sigªcl'um = signaculum
sigⁱfi^re = significare
agºsc'e = agnoscere[24]

5.32 The letter *a* written above the letter *r* often stands for *regula.*

rªrē = regularem, **rªtīa** = regulativa.

5.33 The vowels *a, e, i, o,* written above the letter *q,* generally stand for the syllables *ua, ue, ui, uo.*

qªlr̄	= qualiter	**qⁱcqⁱd**	= quicquid
qᵉ9ʒ	= quaecumque	**qºdamº**	= quodammodo.

5.331 There is an exception, however, in the case of qºne = *quaestione.*

5.34 The letter *c* followed by a superscript *i* can stand for either *cir* or *cri,* as well as *cui.*

cⁱlʒ = cuilibet
cⁱʒ = cuique.

5.35 The symbol 9 or Ɔ followed by superscript *i* can signify either *communi* or *conveni.*

9ⁱōm	= communionem	**9ⁱt'**	= communiter
lɔⁱēs	= inconveniens	**9ⁱūt**	= conveniunt.

5.36 The letter *m* with *o* superscript represents *modo.*

q^{o}m^{o}l3 = quomodolibet.

5.37 The vowel *u* written above the line to indicate the syllable *ur* is encountered only rarely, because, as we have seen (§3.4, 3.5), the symbol 2 or the wavy line (~) were generally used for this purpose. Thus the letter *u* almost always stands for *ru,* or simply *u,* or for some other syllable containing *u.*

5.38 Often a vowel with a superscript vowel has a fixed meaning. The following are the most common examples.

a^{a} = anima, alia, **a^{a}lia** = animalia, **a^{a}m** = aliam etc.
a^{i} = aliqui, ali..., **a^{i}d** = aliquid, **a^{i}c9** = alicuius, **a^{i}c^{i}** = alicui etc.
a^{v}d = aliud
e^{a}... = equa..., **e^{a}li** = aequali, **e^{a}$\overline{\text{lr}}$** = aequaliter etc.
e^{i}... = equi .., **e^{i}poll3** = equipollet (aequipollet), **e^{i}$\overline{\text{u3}}$** = equivalet
i^{a} = ita, **i^{a}q3** = itaque etc.
i^{i} = ibi, **i^{i}$\overline{\text{de}}$** = ibidem etc.
o^{a} = ota..., **no^{a}bil'** = notabilis, **no^{a}$\overline{\text{nd}}$** = notandum etc.
o^{i} = omni..., omini..., **o^{i}po^{a}** = omnipotentia, **do^{i}um** = dominium, **o^{i}b3** = omnibus etc.
u^{i} = ubi, and at the end of a word ...uit, **u^{i}q3** = ubique, **oportu^{i}** = oportuit
u^{o} = uno, vero, **u^{o}q^{o}3** = unoquoque, **u^{o}silr** = verosimiliter.

SUPERSCRIPT CONSONANTS

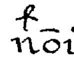
5.4 Consonants, too, are sometimes written above the line, but less frequently, particularly the consonants with a long shaft (*b, p,* etc.), since they occupy too much space. A

consonant that is placed superscript to another consonant is never the first or last character in a word.

5.41 The letter *c* is the consonant most frequently superscript to another consonant. Usually it stands for *ec* or *iec*, except when in conjunction with the letter *d*, in which case it means *ic* or *uc*.

$\mathbf{d^{c}ta\overline{le}}$ = dictamine		$\mathbf{r^{c}ti^{ue}}$ = rectitudine	
$\mathbf{\bar{i}t^{o}d^{c}t\bar{u}}$ = introductum		$\mathbf{ob^{c}to}$ = obiecto	
$\mathbf{pf^{cma}}$ = perfectissima		$\mathbf{\overline{sb}^{c}e}$ = subiectae.	
$\mathbf{exp^{c}t\overline{at}}$ = expectant			

5.42 The letter *l* with its shaft crossed by an abbreviation symbol is frequently superscript to the consonant *n*, standing for *nihil:*

 = nihilominus

 = nihilo.

5.43 The letter *n* sometimes stands superscript to the letter *q* (q^{n}) with the meaning of *quando*. Thus $q^{n}3$ = *quandoque;* $a^{i}q^{n}$ = *aliquando.*

5.44 A superscript *r* combined with *t* represents the syllables *ter* or *tur*, as in: $cet^{r}o$ = *caetero;* $c\bar{e}t^{r}io$ = *centurio.*[25]

5.45 Especially in the 12th century, the letter *s* was frequently written above the line at the end of a word with no special significance: it is a final *s* and nothing more. E.g. $patri^{s}$ = *patris.*[26]

5.46 The letter *t* superscript to a consonant almost always

stands for *-it,* except when it stands with the letter *p,* in which case the meaning is *potest* or *post.*

m^{i}t^{t}	= mittit	**p^{t}tis**	= potestatis
leg^{t}tiō	= legittimo	**p^{t}q^{a}**	= postquam.
pen^{t}ētia	= poenitentia		

5.47 The letter *p* with a superscript *x* stands for the syllable *-plex.*

9p^{x}io = complexio, **iɔp^{x}i** = incomplexi.

5.51 Only rarely are consonants written above vowels, usually to indicate the ending of a siglum.

a^{l}	= animal	**i^{m}**	= illum
a^{d}	= aliud	**i^{d}**	= illud
a^{t}	= aut	**o^{m}**	= oppositum
e^{t}	= est, erit	**o^{t}**	= ostendit.

5.52 Note, however, the forms:

a^{n} = ante, **a^{n}q^{a}** = antequam, **obi^{c}o** = obiecto, **u^{n}** = unde.

5.6 When a letter is written above the line at the end of a word, its primary function, as we have already remarked (§5.1), is to indicate the ending of the word. There are some exceptions, however, when the final superscript letter is not the final letter of the word but rather the most characteristic letter of the ending. In this respect we have already noted a^{n} = *ante* and q^{n} = *quando* (§5.43, 5.52). Some other examples:

h^{i}	= hic	ig^{i}	= igitur
h^{c}	= hoc	n^{e}	= nec
m^{o}	= monacus	u^{n}	= unde
leg^{i}	= legitur	$Excell^{m}$	= Excellentissimus, Excellentissimis etc.

5.61 In the last example, the superscript *m* stands for the superlative.

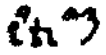
5.62 In some expressions of frequent occurrence, the letters written like an exponent above the line stand, not for the final letter or letters of the word in question, but for some characteristic letter or letters in the following word.

a^{oo}	= alio modo	o^{too}	= opposito modo
ex^{o}	= ex adverso	op^{too}	= opposito modo
9^{sm}	= consequens falsum	$\overline{pt}^{c}$	= potest sic
h^{oo}	= hoc modo	p^{ioo}	= primo modo
h^{on}	= hoc nomen	$\overline{sili}^{o}$	= simili modo
i^{oo}	= illo modo	$\overline{silio}^{o}$	= simili modo
$illo^{o}$	= illo modo	ut^{t}	= ut dicit
$\overline{n}^{c}$	= non sic	ut^{r}	= ut probatur
$\overline{n}^{2}$	= non dicitur	$\overline{\overline{v}}^{a}$	= verbi gratia[27]
n^{oo}	= nullo modo	7^{c}	= et sic
$\overline{nllo}^{o}$	= nullo modo	7^{ciis}	= et sic de aliis.

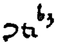
5.63 Most of the time, letters written above the line at the end of a word are accompanied by some abbreviation symbol to indicate the ending of the word itself. Such cases are partially illustrated by the examples already given for abbreviations by truncation and contraction (§1.8, 2.52). Here the superscript endings are listed separately with examples of each.

 = ...*am*. e.g.

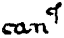
 = harmoniam

 = iustitiam.

 = ...*bus*. e.g.

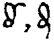
 = continentibus.

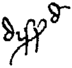
 = ...*cis*. e.g.

 = canonicis.

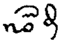
 = ...*cum*. e.g.

 = metaphysicum.

 = ...*dum*, ...*dam*, ...*dem*. e.g.

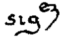
 = dissentiendum

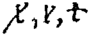
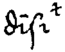
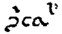
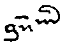
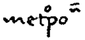
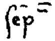
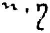
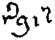
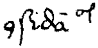
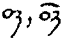
 = eodem

 = notandam.

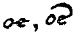
 = ...*nem*, ...*et*. e.g.

 = magnitudinem

 = significet.

	= *...lis*, *...les*. e.g.
	= divisibilis
	= communicabilis
	= amabilis.
	= *...mum*. e.g.
	= generalissimum.
	= *...num*. e.g.
	= metropolitanum
	= sempiternum.
	= *...men*. e.g.
	= amen
	= regimen.
	= *...onis*. e.g.
	= considerationis.
	= *...onem*. e.g.
	= dimensionem

 = demonstrationem.

 = ...*one*. e.g.

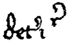
 = diminutione

 = multiplicatione.

 = ...*ter*. e.g.

 = dupliciter.

 = ...*ri*. e.g.

 = determinari, determinare.

 = ...*ret*. e.g.

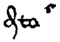
 = faceret.

 = ...*ris*. e.g.

 = decembris.

 = ...*ur*, ...*tur*.[28]

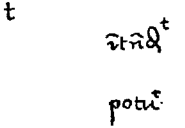
 = ...*as*, ...*tes*. e.g.

 = distantias

 = habentes.

 = ...*s*. e.g.

 = meis.



= ...*it*. e.g.
= intendit

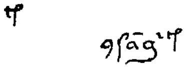
= potuit.



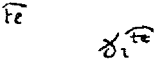
= ...*tum*. e.g.
= licitum.



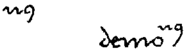
= ...*ter*. e.g.
= dupliciter.



= ...*tis*. e.g.
= consanguinitatis.



= ...*tem*. e.g.
= deitatem.



= ...*vus*. e.g.
= demonstrativus.

6. CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

6.1 This category includes all those signs, for the most part not recognizable as letters and almost always isolated, that stand for a frequently used word or phrase.

6.2 Among the abbreviation marks that are significant in themselves, we noted that the signs 9 and Ɔ mean *con* or *cum* even when they stand alone (§3.2); and also that

the conjunction *et* is most commonly represented by the signs 7 and & (§3.7). Excepting the ampersand, all these signs are derived from Tironian notes and were used in almost all medieval writing, including even lapidary inscriptions.

6.21 These signs were not, however, always written in the more common form, that is, resembling a backward C or the arabic numerals 9 and 7. The list in the *Lexicon* (p. 68) illustrates the sign representing *con* or *cum* in the form of an *o* cut by an oblique line (esp. saec. xiii),[29] or an arabic 2, or some other peculiar forms, all of them derived, however, from the original form described above. The same is true of many of the contractions which stand for the conjunction *et* (see *Lexicon*, p. 408).

6.22 In other cases, when *cum* or *et* have been abbreviated at the beginning of a word, the form of the sign is altered because an abbreviation mark has been joined to it: consult the signs for *contra* and *quondam* (*Lexicon*, p. 408) and those for *et caetera, aeterni,* and *etiam* (p. 409).

6.3 Other important symbols are ÷ and =, for *est* and *esse* respectively, whether alone or as a component of larger words. These, too, are subject to some modification (see *Lexicon*, pp. 408-409). Note especially: i÷ for *id est;* in÷ for *inest;* $\overline{\text{it}}$÷ for *interest;* $=m^9$ for *essemus;* $=^e$ for *essentiae,* etc.

6.4 Many peculiar signs were used throughout the Middle Ages, and even in more recent times, to indicate monetary units, weights, and measures.

6.41 The principal sign for *libra* as money (Ital. *lira*) is

a single or a double *o*, but always in a form that is different from ordinary script and which has frequently been further altered by an abbreviation mark (see *Lexicon*, p. 410). The sign for *libra* as weight (Ital. *libbra*) was represented in the 8th century by three converging lines (*Lexicon*, p. 410), but it underwent considerable modification in the course of the Middle Ages, until finally in the 15th century its form closely approximated the letter *L*, which is still used for the Italian lira (cf. £ = pound sterling).

6.42 The sign for an ounce weight *(uncia)*, which from the 15th through the 17th centuries was written as a spiral, is actually nothing more than the syllable *oz* (Ital. *onza*) written with a single stroke of the pen (*Lexicon*, p. 410b no. 10).

6.43 A small triangle stands for *scudi* (saec. xv-xvi).

6.44 Another, much larger, triangle was affixed to the verso of a dispatch towards the end of the 15th century as an indication that the letter was to be delivered by courier *(per staffetta)*. Four crossed lines on the verso of a dispatch indicated that it was to be delivered by horseback (*per cavalcata; Lexicon*, p. 411). In the 15th century the sign of a gallows was affixed by rulers to their most urgent letters as a warning to the courier (*Lexicon*, p. 410b no. 12).

6.5 This discussion of conventional symbols must necessarily include grammatical symbols, especially those current in the 8th and 9th centuries. The following definitions are quoted from, among others, St. Isidore, *De originibus*, and Nicolai, *De siglis veterum*. (See *Lexicon*, p. 412 for specimens.)

Antigraphus. A symbol which is joined with a period to indicate that there is a different meaning in the translations. *Est una e notis sententiarum quae cum puncto apponitur ubi in translationibus diversus sensus habetur.* (Isidore, I.20)

Antisigma. A symbol which is affixed to those verses whose order is to be inverted, following the usage of earlier authorities. *Una e notis sententiarum quae ponitur ad eos versus quorum ordo permutandus est, sicut et in antiquis auctoribus positum invenitur.* (Ibid.)

Antisigma cum puncto. A symbol which is employed in passages where there are two verses with the same meaning and there is some doubt as to which is to be preferred. *Antisigma* cum puncto *ponitur in iis locis ubi in eodem sensu duplices versus sunt et dubitatur qui potius eligendum sit.* (Ibid.)

Asteriscus. A little star affixed to a passage in which something is missing, in order to clarify the position of the missing elements. *Asteriscus est stellula quae apponitur iis quae omissa sunt, ut illucescant per eam notam quae deesse videntur.* (See Thomas de S. Quercu, *Lexicon etymologicum.*)

Asteriscus cum obelo. Aristarchus uses this sign to mark verses that are not in their proper place. *Hac nota Aristarchus usus est in versibus iis, qui suo loco non sunt positi.* (Isidore, I.20)

Ceraunium. This sign is used whenever there are several suspect verses and the individual verses are not marked with an obelus. *Ceraunium ponitur quoties multi versus improbantur, nec per singulos obelantur.* (Ibid.)

Cryphia. The lower half of a circle with a period is

used in passages where some difficult and abstruse problem cannot be properly solved. *Circuli pars inferior cum puncto ponitur in iis locis ubi quaestio dubia et obscura aperiri vel solvi non potuit.* (Ibid.)

Limniscus. A horizontal comma or dash between two periods is used to mark passages in which exegetes of Sacred Scripture have given the substance of the passage in equivalent but not identical words. *Limniscus est virgula inter geminos punctos iacens, apponitur in iis locis, quae Sacrae Scripturae interpretes eodem sensu sed diversis sermonibus transtulerunt.* (Ibid.)

Obelus. A horizontal comma or dash is used to mark words or sentences which have been superfluously repeated, or in passages where the reading is marked by some obvious falsification. *Est virgula iacens; apponitur in verbis vel sententiis, superflue iteratis, sive in iis locis ubi lectio aliqua falsitate notata est.* (Nicolai, *De siglis veterum*, p. 104)

Obelus superne appunctatus. An obelus with a period written above it is used to indicate that the passage in question ought perhaps to be deleted. *Ponitur in iis de quibus dubitatur, utrum tolli debeant necne.* (Isidore, I.20)

7. ROMAN AND ARABIC NUMERALS

7.0 Schonemann[30] and, following him, Gloria[31] have expressed the opinion that the numerical signs used by the Romans were simply abbreviations. This is not the place to present any detailed argument against this assertion, which I believe to be completely unfounded. Still it would seem beneficial to provide for the student a conspectus of roman and arabic numeral forms, the former in alphabetical

order and the latter in the order of successive magnitudes, to facilitate consultation of the lists in the *Lexicon* (pp. 413-428).

7.1 It is a well-known fact that the Romans expressed numerical quantities exclusively by the letters of their alphabet. The rather bizarre signs occasionally employed for inscriptions are simply alterations, sometimes rather considerable, of the original letters.

7.11 For example, the sign for 1000, which approximates a horizontal arabic 8 (∞) is derived from the earlier sign **CIƆ** (later **ↀ**), which also stands for 1000. The sign which is similar to the Greek letter pi (Π = 2000) is simply the figure **II** with a superscript bar written very low ($\overline{\mathbf{II}}$). The same is true of many other signs (see §7.5).

7.2 One letter is frequently inverted, namely C, but always preceded by the letter I, to form such numbers as **IƆ** = 500 (later written simply as **D**); **IƆƆ** = 5000; **IƆƆƆ** = 50,000.

7.3 The most ancient sign for the number 1000 seems to have been **CIƆ**. Its value could be raised ten times by the addition of two other C's, one to the right and the other to the left in the same position as the first two. Hence: **CCIƆƆ** = 10,000; **CCCIƆƆƆ** = 100,000.

7.31 On ancient inscriptions, the number 10,000 is also expressed by the sign  which is derived from **CCIƆƆ**. For example, see the inscription of C. Duilius, reproduced in Ricci, *Epigraphia latina*, p. 145, pl. xxvi.

7.4 The numeral **CIƆ** or **M** enclosed in an oval ring

has 10 times its original value; enclosed within two oval rings it has 100 times its original value. Similarly, a half circle around the numeral I Ͻ or D stands for 5000 and two half circles stand for the number 50,000.[32]

7.5 A single bar placed above a roman numeral increases the value by a factor of 1000.

7.51 Exceptional are the numeral letters A and B (500 and 300), for which the horizontal line indicates a value only 10 times the original (5000 and 3000).[33]

7.52 Two horizontal bars written above a number give it a value a million times the original: $\overline{\overline{\text{D}}} = 500{,}000{,}000$.

7.53 A numeral with a vertical line on either side and a horizontal bar above is raised in value 100,000 times. Thus: $|\overline{\text{C}}| = 10{,}000{,}000$; $|\overline{\text{X}}| = 1{,}000{,}000$.

7.6 The well-known rule that a numeral standing to the left of a larger roman numeral is to be subtracted from it (e.g. ⅭⅠↃ Ͻ Ͻ = 4000) appears to have been little honored by the ancient Romans themselves, and there are only rare examples from the Middle Ages.[34]

7.61 On the other hand, we sometimes encounter a reversed form of the numerals **IIIX** and **VIX**, with the values of 13 and 16 respectively, in an attempt to reproduce the order of the Latin expressions *tertio decimo* and *sexto decimo*.[35]

7.71 Occasionally, especially in medieval French documents, multiplication by 20 was expressed by means of two small *x*'s that are written as superscripts to the numbers III, VI, VII, etc.: $\text{IIII}^{xx} = 80$; $\text{VI}^{xx}\text{XI} = 131$.

7.72 To express the number ½ it was customary to write the letter *s* (the initial letter of *semis,* one-half) after the roman numeral: **LXIIS** = *sexaginta duo semis* (62½). This practice dates back to the most ancient times.[36] In the Middle Ages it was more customary to find the number ½ expressed by a diagonal line cutting the last character in the numeral (**XV** with a diagonal stroke = [15 − ½] = 14½); or by either a colon or a semicolon divided by a horizontal line (÷ or ⁏ with a horizontal line); or finally, and especially in Lombard documents from the 15th century, by a sign similar to the arabic 3.

7.73 The numeral letters **C** and **M,** especially in the later Middle Ages, were frequently written as superscripts to smaller numbers as a sign of multiplication: $\mathbf{VIII}^{c} = 800$; $\mathbf{XI}^{c} = 1100$;[37] $\mathbf{II}^{m} = 2000$.

7.74 In Ligurian documents, multiplication by a thousand is frequently expressed by the letter *O* cut by a horizontal line (saec. xv ex.; *Lexicon,* p. 419).

7.8 Arabic numerals, it must be recalled, are of ancient Indian origin, and were borrowed by the Arabs about the 9th century, who referred to them as "Indian numerals." This system spread through Europe only much later through the work of the Pisan mathematician Leonardo Fibonacci, who gathered together much of the mathematical advances and knowledge of the Arabs in his book, the *Liber abaci* (A.D. 1202), a work which, as Bariola rightly remarked,[38] outlined the scope of all modern arithmetic.

7.81 In the *Lexicon,* pages 422-428 reproduce a series of arabic numerals as they were written from the 12th to the 18th century. One item of particular interest is the peculiar

form of many of these numerals, so different from our modern method of writing them. This is true especially of the figures for 2, 4, 5, and 7. Inexperienced scribes frequently confused the 7 with the 2, and the 5 with the 4 or 9, and vice versa.

7.82 It must be noted (see *Lexicon*, p. 425) that even in arabic numerals, the number ½ is expressed in the 15th century by a line between two dots (4÷ = 4½), or by a small superscript cross to the right of the number itself (4^+). This last form appears to be a corruption of ⅟ı, which was another popular way of expressing the fraction ½ in that same century, e.g., 7⅟ı = 7½ (*Lexicon*, p. 427).[39] Towards the end of the 15th century, we begin to note the emergence of the form similar to modern usage: ½.

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7.91 In the 16th century, multiplication by 1000 is expressed by a line and a small letter *m* written above an Arabic numeral: $\frac{m}{100}$ = 100,000. There is, however, no example of a line with a small letter *c* written above it to indicate multiplication by 100.

7.92 Other letters are added to arabic numerals as superscripts, but they simply stand for the ending, especially in the case of ordinal numerals: 2° = *secundo;* 5^{t9} = *quintus;* 7^a = *septima.*

7.93 Occasionally, words that begin with the syllables *sex-*, *sept-*, *trin-*, *dupl-*, etc., are abbreviated by writing the first part of the word as a numeral and the conclusion as a superscript.

$6^{l'}$ = sextilis
$7^{l'}$ = septentrionalis
3^{tas} = trinitas
2^{r} = dupliciter
4^{lo} = quadruplo
$3'anl^{9}$ = triangulus
19^{ales} = Decemnovennales.

7.94 The following forms also deserve attention.

2^{od} = secundo notandum
2^{ate} = secunda parte
2^{oo} = secundo modo
4^{too} = quarto modo

NOTES

1. On Tironian notes, see Kopp, *Paleografia critica* (Mannheim, 1817-1829); Schmitz, *Commentarii notarum tironianarum* (Leipzig, 1893); Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris, 1900); Schiaparelli, *Tachigrafia sillabica nelle carte italiane* (Rome, 1910). On the derivation of medieval abbreviations from sigla and Tironian notes, see Sickel, *Die Urkundenlehre der Karolinger,* pp. 305-308. Also Paoli, *Le abbreviature nella paleografia latina del Medio-Evo* (Florence, 1891), p. 35, to which the present classification of abbreviations is indebted; see also his *Programmo scolastico di paleografia latina e di diplomatica* (3rd ed., Florence, 1910). The *Lexicon* contains a bibliography (pp. 517-531) of works on paleography [compiled in 1910, where the full form of titles cited in these notes will be found].

2. In cursive Lombardic hands, saec. viii in.

3. The use of *italics* indicates that the abbreviation occurs in documents written in Italian.

4. *Le abbreviature,* p. 14.

5. The abbreviation f̄c almost always stands for *fac* when it occurs at the beginning of a word: in the middle, however, it generally stands for *fec:* īfc̄om = *infectionem;* 9fcīs = *confectis,* etc.

6. From the Greek letters χρ.

7. The ending -ōem̄ = *-onem,* e.g. diōem̄ = *divisionem.* The same is true of -oīs = *-onis.*

8. In the uncial script saec. vi, we note some rare instances of a line with a dot over it to indicate *m,* while the

simple line stands for *n*. Usually the line with a dot was used saec. vi for either *m* or *n*. See the *Palaeographical Society Facsimiles,* ser. ii, pl. 50.

9. Printed by MOMMSEN in *Notarum Laterculi.*

10. For *cognitio*. In saec. xi-xv a superfluous *n* was frequently inserted before *gn:* e.g. *congnatione, recongnitum, ingnoro.*

11. *Anleitung zur lateinischen Pälaeographie,* p. 22.

12. In the *Liber diurnus pontificum romanorum* (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS. I.2 Sup.: saec. ix), the enclitic *-que* is sometimes represented by *q* followed by a large comma that resembles the sign for *-us;* but more often the MS uses a dot instead of the comma.

13. The sign is especially used for *e* in MSS written in Italian.

14. The straight line over the *p* and the *q* can sometimes be replaced by a curved line similar to the sign for *-us* and having the same meaning.

15. In Lombardic documents, the symbol p̄p frequently stands for Pavia (Papia).

16. In saec. viii the same sign is used for *-que;* in Anglo-Saxon hands it stands for *quam* and *quia.*

17. In saec. viii-x the sign **q;** or **q:** can stand for both *-que* and *qui.* Thus **q:d** = *quid;* q;s = *quis.*

18. In the *Liber diurnus* (supra, n. 12), the letter *q* is sometimes followed by a period, both for the enclitic *-que* and for *-quae* at the end of a word. In saec. ix-xii, charter hands often represent *-que* by a simple vertical line, slightly curved, and followed by two periods. See *Archivio paleografico italiano,* Vol. I, pl. 2, and Vol. III, pl. 2. These are Roman charters, but the same sign is also found in

Lombardy at this time.

19. As a rule, the contractions v3, t3, d3, h3, p3 do not occur in conjunction with any of the general abbreviation marks. When such marks are added, they usually denote the plural number: v̄3 = *valent;* t̄3 = *tenent;* d̄3 = *debent,* etc.

20. See *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino* (Montecassino, 1877-1879), pl. 39. The 3-mark standing for *n* instead of *m* has been encountered only once, in the word fluē3 for *flumen.* See also WALTHER, *Lexicon diplomaticum,* col. 130.

21. Excepting, however, iō3 = *ideoque.*

22. Now in the Archivio di Stato di Roma; ed. MONACI, *Archivio paleografico italiano,* Vol. III, pl. 2.

23. Except in Visigothic script, saec. viii, where this sign is used for *qui.*

24. When the letter *g* stands alone, each of these superscript vowels gives it an absolute meaning: *erga, igitur, ergo* (see §1.54).

25. In this last case, however, superscript *r* generally has the Gothic form, i.e. it resembles an arabic 2.

26. See *Lexicon,* pl. i (A.D. 1114), lines 3 and 6.

27. The two abbreviation marks written above the letter *v* are perhaps intended to distinguish this abbreviation from another common meaning (v^a = *vestra*), or to indicate that there are two words involved. In the majority of cases, however, two such superimposed abbreviation marks would occur at the end of a word, one of them to indicate the presence of a contraction while the other would stand for the final *m* of the word itself. Thus: succ͞o = *successionem;* c͞a = *causam;* q̄ = *quaedam.*

28. See §3.5.

29. In Ligurian hands saec. xv, the sign *o* cut by a short horizontal line represents the syllable *de,* both standing alone and as an element of a longer word. See *Lexicon,* pp. 406-407.

30. *Versuch eines vollständigen Systems der allgemeinen . . . Diplomatik* (Leipzig, 1818), p. 605.

31. *Lezioni di paleografia* (Padua, 1860), p. 37.

32. See also Ritschel, *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica* (Berlin, 1862).

33. This practice must be carefully distinguished from that of writing a horizontal line above the letters merely as an indication of their numeral value, to distinguish them from other letters and marks (§1.8).

34. The few examples I have encountered all derive from saec. xv ex.; all stand for the number IX (never for IV), and occur especially in French and Piedmontese documents. Walther lists the form **LXL** (= 90) as one used in saec. viii.

35. Lupi, *Manuale di paleografia delle carte* (Florence, 1875), p. 175.

36. There are, however, some examples from the Middle Ages as well, esp. French, saec. xiii: Reusens, *Elements de paléographie,* pp. 254-255.

37. In documents from Siena, saec. xiii. See Paoli, *Programma,* p. 49.

38. *Storia della ragioneria italiana* (Milan, 1897), p. 48.

39. These signs for the number ½ were all found in Lombardic documents in the Archivio di Stato di Milano.